

Message Text

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R 031344Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7466

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 4 OSLO 4437

ATTN: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SPRINGSTEEN

EO 11652: N/A

SUBJECT: PFOR NO

SUBJECT: NOBEL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS FOR DECEMBER 10

FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION FULL TEXT OF SPEECH TO BE
DELIVERED BY NOBEL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AASE LIONAES AT
DECEMBER 10 CEREMONY AWARDEING PEACE PRIZE TO SECRETARY
KISSINGER:

YOUR MAJESTY, YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESSES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

ON JANUARY 23 THIS YEAR A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WAS ENTERED INTO
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF VIETNAM.

MEETING ON OCTOBER 16, THE NORWEGIAN STORTING'S NOBEL COMMITTEE
DECIDED TO AWARD THE PEACE PRIZE FOR 1973 TO HENRY KISSINGER
AND LE DUC THO, THE TWO CHIEF NEGOTIATORS WHO AFTER NEARLY
FOUR YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS SUCCEDED IN BRINGING ABOUT THE
CEASEFIRE.

FOR MANY, AND BITTER YEARS THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF VIETNAM
AND THE FIGHTING SOLDIERS ON BOTH SIDES HAVE ENDURED THE
SUFFERINGS AND SEVERE BURDENS IMPOSED BY THE WAR. IT WAS A
WAR WHICH NOT ONLY AFFECTED VIETNAM AND THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM,
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BUT IT ALSO POISONED THE ATMOSPHERE WITHIN COUNTRIES AND

BETWEEN COUNTRIES THE WORLD OVER.

SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM HAVE NEVER KNOWN REAL PEACE.

AT THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, FRANCE FACED A STRONGLY ARMED RESISTANCE MOVEMENT UNDER COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP IN VIETNAM.

ATTEMPTS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE ITS RECOGNITION, FAILED. OPEN WAR BROKE OUT, AND IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE FRENCH FORCES NUMBERED NEARLY 400,000 MEN, THEY DID NOT SUCCEED IN BREAKING THE RESISTANCE. AFTER FRANCE'S DEFEAT AT DIEN BIEN PHU IN 1954, A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED IN GENEVA. A DEMARCATION LINE WAS DRAWN AT THE 17TH PARALLEL. THE COUNTRY WAS TO BE UNITED AFTER FREE ELECTIONS HAD BEEN HELD. BUT THIS DID NOT HAPPEN. THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM MAINTAINED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO HOLD FREE ELECTIONS UNDER COMMUNIST RULE IN THE NORTH. TWO STATES CAME INTO BEING ON VIETNAMESE SOIL.

IN THE YEARS FROM 1954 TO 1960, THE TWO VIETNAMESE STATES WERE BUILT, ONE COMMUNIST IN THE NORTH AND ONE NON-COMMUNIST IN THE SOUTH.

IN SOUTH VIETNAM, A GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN OPPOSITION AGAINST THE REGIME CAME INTO BEING. IN 1960, ITS ACTIVITIES INCREASED, AND TOWARD THE END OF THE YEAR A JOINT ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, THE NLF, WAS CREATED. IT WAS HAILED IN NORTH VIETNAM, AND THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT MAINTAINED THAT THE NLF WAS CONTROLLED BY NORTH VIETNAM.

IN THE ENSURING YEARS THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM DID NOT SUCCEED IN PREVENTING THE NLF FROM EXTENDING ITS ACTIVITIES AND INCREASING ITS INFLUENCE. IT ALSO BECAME CLEAR THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO CREATE AN EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

IN 1964, DECISIONS WERE MADE WHICH LED TO THE INTRODUCTION OF AMERICAN FORCES IN THE WAR IN ASIA. THEY TOOK PART BOTH IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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A CIVIL WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AND IN A WAR BETWEEN THE TWO VIETNAMESE STATES. THIS INVOLVEMENT TOOK THE FORM OF A MASSIVE EFFORT BY AMERICAN FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND OF AERIAL ATTACKS AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM AND AGAINST NORTH VIETNAMESE SUPPLY LINES IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA. THE NUMBER OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN VIETNAM REACHED ITS PEAK IN MARCH OF 1969, WITH A TOTAL OF 541,500 MEN. PARALLEL WITH THE GROWING AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT WAS A CORRESPONDING INCREASE

IN NORTH VIETNAMESE FORCES IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

THE WORLD TODAY KNOWS THE DISASTERS BROUGHT UPON THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE BY THE WAR. THE MECHANICAL INHUMANITY OF THE WAR HAS GONE SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE TERROR OF THE CIVIL WAR. IT IS NOT NECESSARY HERE TO LIST THE UNCERTAIN BUT HORRIBLE CASUALTY FIGURES--THE DEAD, THE MAIMED, THE ORPHANS, THE PRISONERS, THE DEPORTEES AND THE ROOTLESS MASSES FLEEING FROM THE FIELDS OF BATTLE. THE WAR BECAME A NIGHTMARE, NOT ONLY FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, BUT FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD.

IN 1969, THE SYSTEMATIC WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS FROM VIETNAM WAS INITIATED. IN 1972, ONLY 27,000 MEN REMAINED OUT OF A FORCE OF MORE THAN HALF A MILLION. BUT THE WAR WENT ON, WITH MAJOR OFFENSIVES IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND WITH NEW AIR ATTACKS AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM--THE LATEST ONES AS RECENT AS DECEMBER LAST YEAR. HOWEVER, THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CEASEFIRE AND FOR PEACE WHICH HAD BEGUN IN PARIS IN 1969, PROCEEDED EXCEPT FOR OCCASIONAL BRIEF INTERRUPTIONS. AND THEN, FINALLY, ON JANUARY 23 OF THIS YEAR THE UNITED STATES' CHIEF NEGOTIATOR, HENRY KISSINGER, AND NORTH VIETNAM'S NEGOTIATOR, LE DUC THO, WORKED OUT A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT SUBSEQUENTLY SIGNED ON JANUARY 27.

THE NORWEGIAN STORTING'S NOBEL COMMITTEE WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE FACT THAT IT WAS A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT AND NOT A PEACE TREATY. THE COMMITTEE WAS CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT THERE IS STILL NO PEACE IN VIETNAM AND THAT THE SUFFERINGS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE HAVE NOT COME TO AN END. IT WAS ALSO CLEAR TO THE COMMITTEE THAT EVENTS IN VIETNAM CAN AGAIN THREATEN THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION. THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT WAS ONLY ONE STEP, BUT AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT STEP, ON THE DIFFICULT ROAD TO REAL PEACE IN VIETNAM.

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IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE TWO CHIEF NEGOTIATORS AND STATESMEN, WHO THIS YEAR HAVE BEEN AWARDED THE PEACE PRIZE, WILL SHOW THE SAME UNDERSTANDING OF THE PURPOSE AND INTENTION OF THE AWARD AS WAS EXPRESSED BY CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT IN HIS SPEECH HERE IN THIS AUDITORIUM WHEN HE RECEIVED THE PEACE PRIZE FOR 1971:

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R 031344Z DEC 73

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7467

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 4 OSLO 4437

ATTN: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SPRINGSTEEN

"THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE IS THE HIGHEST HONOR WHICH CAN BE DESTOWED ON A MAN WITH A POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND ONE WHICH REQUIRES OF HIM THE HIGHEST OBLIGATION."

IN HIS LETTER OF NOVEMBER 2 TO THE NOBEL COMMITTEE, HENRY KISSINGER STATES THAT HE IS DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF THIS OBLIGATION. HE SAID, IN PART:

" I AM DEEPLY MOVED BY THE AWARD OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, WHICH I REGARD AS THE HIGHEST HONOR ONE COULD HOPE TO ACHIEVE IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE ON THIS EARTH. WHEN I CONSIDER THE LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN SO HONORED BEFORE ME, I CAN ONLY ACCEPT THIS AWARD WITH HUMILITY.

"THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND INDEED OF THE WHOLE WORLD, SHARE THE HOPE EXPRESSED BY THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE COMMITTEE 'THAT ALL PARTIES TO THIS CONFLICT WILL FEEL MORALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR TURNING THE CEASEFIRE IN VIETNAM INTO A LASTING PEACE FOR THE SUFFERING PEOPLES OF INDOCHINA.' CERTAINLY MY GOVERNMENT, FOR ITS PART, INTENDS TO CONTINUE TO DONDUCT ITS POLICIES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO TURN THIS HOPE INTO REALITY."

I AM CONVINCED THAT HONEST PEOPLE EVERYWHERE SHARE THE NOBEL COMMITTEE'S GRAITUDE OVER THIS STATEMENT BY KISSINGER.

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THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE HAS OFTEN BEEN AWARDED TO PERSONS WHO

BEAR NO DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY OR JOINT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POLICIES OF GOVERNMENTS, FOR PEACE OR WAR BETWEEN NATIONS. IT HAS BEEN AWARDED TO INDIVIDUALS AND TO ORGANIZATIONS RESPONSIBLE FOR COOPERATION ACROSS NATIONAL BORDERS FOR THE PURPOSE OF CREATING A BETTER WORLD--A WORLD WITHOUT HUNGER, A WORLD IN WHICH THERE IS JUSTICE FOR THE WORKERS, A WORLD WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE GENERALLY RESPECTED, A WORLD WITHOUT RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND RACIAL HATRED. AND THE PRIZE HAS BEEN AWARDED TO PERSONS WHO CARRIED A DREAM OF A WORLD IN WHICH WAR WOULD BE UNTHINKABLE.

BUT THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE HAS ALSO BEEN AWARDED TO PERSONS ENTRUSTED WITH POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY, PERSONS WHO HAVE STOOD IN THE MAINSTREAM OF BEWILDERING EVENTS. THEY RECEIVED THE PRIZE BECAUSE THEY, BY THEIR DEEDS, HAD SHOWN A PATH TO FOLLOW. NO ONE COULD KNOW WHETHER IT WOULD BE FOLLOWED. BUT THEY HAD LIGHTED A BEACON ON THAT LONG, DIFFICULT ROAD TO PEACE AMONG MEN. THEY WERE GIVEN THE PRIZE BECAUSE THEY--WITHIN THE SCOPE OF WHAT WAS POLITICALLY FEASIBLE--HAD PROMOTED A PEACE WHICH, ALTHOUGH IT WAS NOT A PERFECT PEACE, STILL WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, IT MAY BE WORTHWHILE TO LOOK BACK TO 1950 WHEN RALPH BUNCHE, THE UN REPRESENTATIVE IN PALESTINE, RECEIVED THE PRIZE FOR HIS EFFORTS TOWARD A CEASEFIRE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES.

THREE TIMES THE CEASEFIRE HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY OPEN WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE BUNCHE'S TIME--IN 1956, IN 1967 AND NOW IN 1973. THE PATH WHICH HE RECOMMENDED IN HIS WORK WAS NOT FOLLOWED.

NOT UNTIL TODAY, AFTER THE FOURTH WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IS THERE HOPE THAT THE NEW CEASEFIRE, WHICH BUNCHE HAD WANTED, MAY LEAD TO A PEACE OFFERING LASTING SECURITY FOR ALL THE PEOPLES IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD.

IN 1971, THE PRIZE WAS AWARDED TO AN ACTIVE STATEMAN,
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CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT FOR HIS PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND FOR THE POLICIES OF COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

HE HAD SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING A MAJORITY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE THAT AS A BASIS FOR A POLICY OF PEACE AND NEGOTIATIONS, THEY MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THE REAL POWER SITUATION IN EUROPE, INCLUDING THE FACT THAT TODAY THERE ARE TWO GERMAN STATES ON GERMAN SOIL.

THIS WAS NOT A PERFECT SOLUTION, LEAST OF ALL FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE, AND NOT ACCORDING TO THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE THAT PEOPLES SHALL BE THE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINY. BUT AS A STATEMAN, AND THE LEADER OF A NATION IN THE HEART OF EUROPE, WILLY BRANDT CHOSE THE ONLY FEASIBLE POLICY OF PEACE.

WHEN THE NORWEGIAN STORTING'S NOBEL COMMITTEE DECIDED IN 1973 TO AWARD THE PRIZE TO TWO MEN BEARING GREAT POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY, MEN WHO STAND IN THE MAINSTREAM OF EVENTS, IT DID SO TO UNDERSCORE THE BELIEF THAT THE WAY TO RESOLVING THE MANY ISSUES WHICH HAVE LED TO, OR CAN LEAD TO WAR MUST GO THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS, INSTEAD OF THROUGH TOTAL WAR FOR A TOTAL VICTORY.

THE TWO NEGOTIATORS WHO WERE AWARDED THE PRIZE REPRESENT WIDELY DIFFERENT SYSTEMS--THE ONE AN ESSENTIALLY WESTERN SYSTEM SIMILAR TO THE ONE WITHIN WHICH OUR STORTING OPERATES, THE OTHER A COMMUNIST SYSTEM. WE HAVE NO ILLUSIONS THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SYSTEMS AND IDEAS CAN BE RESOLVED. BUT THE NOBEL COMMITTEE WANTED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IN A WORLD IN NEED OF PEACE, NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO FORCE HIS SYSTEM UPON OTHERS BY THE USE OF ARMS. NATIONS WITH DIFFERENT SYSTEMS MUST BE ABLE TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE IN PEACE, AND THEY MUST SETTLE CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

LE DUC THO HAS INFORMED THE COMMITTEE THAT FOR THE TIME BEING HE HAS FOUND HE CANNOT RECEIVE THE PRIZE. HE REFERS TO THE CURRENT SITUATION IN VIETNAM. IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING REGULATIONS, THE COMMITTEE WILL HOLD THE PRIZE FOR HIM UNTIL OCTOBER 1, 1974. THE COMMITTEE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SITUATION IN VIETNAM WILL DEVELOP ACCORDING TO THE INTENTIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 23 AND THAT THIS WILL ENABLE HIM TO RECEIVE THE PRIZE.

HENRY KISSINGER HAS BECOME UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE THIS YEAR. HE WRITES AS FOLLOWS IN HIS LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE:

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FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7468

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 3 OF 4 OSLO 4437

ATTN: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SPRINGSTEEN

"I GREATLY REGRET THAT BECAUSE OF THE PRESS OF BUSINESS IN A WORLD BESET BY RECURRENT CRISIS I SHALL BE UNABLE TO COME TO OSLO ON DECEMBER 10 FOR THE AWARD CEREMONY. I HAVE ACCORDINGLY DESIGNATED AMBASSADOR BYRNE TO REPRESENT ME ON THAT OCCASION. HOWEVER, I WOULD HOPE AND CONSIDER IT A PRIVILEGE, SHOULD YOU SO WISH, TO VISIT OSLO AT A FUTURE APPROPRIATE DATE TO DELIVER THE LECTURE WHICH I UNDERSTAND IS CUSTOMARILY GIVEN BY THE LAUREATES OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE."

THE COMMITTEE IS NATURALLY AWARE OF KISSINGER'S PRESSURE OF WORK THIS FALL. NEVERTHELESS, THE COMMITTEE DEEPLY REGRETS THAT HE HAS NOT FOUND THE TIME TO COME HERE TO RECEIVE THE AWARD IN PERSON. WE LOOK FORWARD WITH PLEASURE TO HIS LECTURE AT A LATER DATE.

HENRY KISSINGER WAS BORN IN GERMANY IN 1923 OF JEWISH PARENTS. IN 1938, HIS FAMILY FLED TO THE UNITED STATES. HIS FATHER HAD BEEN A TEACHER AND WORKED AS AN OFFICE CLERK IN NEW YORK. HENRY KISSINGER WAS DRAFTED INTO THE ARMY IN 1943 AND BECAME AN AMERICAN CITIZEN. HE SAW COMBAT IN THE CONCLUDING PHASE OF THE WAR IN EUROPE AND WAS GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OCCUPYING POWERS' ADMINISTRATION OF A SMALL TOWN IN SOUTHERN GERMANY. IN 1946, HE RECEIVED A SCHOLARSHIP TO STUDY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY. IN 1954, HE

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TOOK HIS DOCTOR'S DEGREE AND IN HIS DISSERTATION HE ANALYZED THE FASHIONING OF POLITICAL ORDER IN THE POST-NAPOLEONIC PERIOD. IN THE 1950'S, HE DIRECTED A SPECIAL STUDIES PROGRAM AT THE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IN

NEW YORK. THE GROUP ANALYZED UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE MILITARY SECURITY PROBLEMS OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. IN 1957, HE RETURNED TO HARVARD WHERE HE BECAME A PROFESSOR IN 1962. BOTH IN THE 1950'S AND THE 1960'S, HE WAS A PROLIFIC WRITER ON POLITICAL TOPICS. HE AUTHORED REPORTS FOR BOTH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY. WITHOUT JOINING A POLITICAL PARTY, HE ALSO TOOK PART IN SHAPING NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER'S PLATFORM BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN 1968. AFTER 1968, HE ACTED AS A CONSULTANT TO PRESIDENT NIXON. FROM JANUARY 1969, HE CAME TO PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE AS AN ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT ON NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS. IN 1973, HE BECAME SECRETARY OF STATE.

IN ALL OF KISSINGER'S LITERARY WORKS WE CAN DISCERN A BASIC ATTITUDE WHICH MADE HIM PARTICULARLY SUITED FOR THE ROLE ASSIGNED TO HIM IN 1969.

A GLIMPSE OF THIS ATTITUDE COULD ALREADY BE FOUND IN THE LOCAL GERMAN ACCOUNTS OF HIS CONDUCT AS AN AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER IN 1945-46.

PEOPLE STILL REMEMBER HOW THE YOUNG GERMAN EMIGRANT OF JEWISH PARENTS, WHO HAD RETURNED IN AMERICAN UNIFORM AFTER SEVEN YEARS AND WHO HAD HAD 17 OF HIS RELATIVES MURDERED BY THE NAZIS, IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHED THAT: "WE HAVE NOT COME HERE TO SEEK REVENGE."

THIS REVEALS THE DEVELOPMENT AT AN EARLY AGE OF HIS VIEWS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE STATE, VIEWS VOID OF FANATICISM--EVEN IN A YOUNG MAN OF GERMAN-JEWISH DESCENT, AND NOT EVEN TOWARDS A NATION WHICH HAD LET ITSELF BE LED INTO A MORAL ABYSS BY FANATICS.

IN HIS DOCTOR'S DISSERTATION, KISSINGER IS ABSORBED BY THE LONG PERIOD OF PEACE IN EUROPE AFTER 1814. EXCEPT FOR BRIEF INTERRUPTIONS BY MILITARY CONFLICTS, IT LASTED FOR A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HUNDRED YEARS--UNTIL 1914.

MANY HISTORIANS IN THEIR ASSESSMENT OF THIS PERIOD PLACE A ONE-SIDED EMPHASIS ON THE MILITARY BALANCE OF POWER. NO SINGLE MAJOR POWER ENJOYED SUFFICIENT MILITARY STRENGTH TO CONQUER ALL OF EUROPE--AS NAPOLEON DID BEFORE 1814 AND GERMANY AFTER 1914.

KISSINGER, ON THE OTHER HAND, EMPHASIZES THAT THE PEACE WAS TIED TO AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER BASED ON GENERALLY ACCEPTED PRINCIPLES OF CONDUCT AMONG STATES.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEMS ALSO DIFFERED AT THAT TIME, AND THE MAJOR POWERS HAD MANY CONFLICTING INTERESTS. BUT ON THE WHOLE, THEY RESPECTED THESE PRINCIPLES AND RULES, AND ON THIS BASIS THEY SOUGHT TO PREVENT OPPOSING SYSTEMS AND INTERESTS FROM LEADING TO WAR.

IT STANDS TO REASON THAT KISSINGER, THEREFORE, CAME TO PLACE GREAT EMPHASIS ON DIPLOMACY AS A TOOL FOR PEACE, DIPLOMACY BOTH AS A CRAFT AND AN ART.

A CENTRAL THEME IN KISSINGER'S THINKING ON FOREIGN POLICY IS THAT PEACE MUST BE BASED ON RULES SUBSCRIBED TO BY ALL STATES, IN PARTICULAR BY THE MAJOR POWERS. IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT A SINGLE STATE, OR A FEW STATES, DO SO. ON THE CONTRARY, IT MAY BE DANGEROUS IF SOME STATES SEEK PEACE AT ANY PRICE AND FAIL TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT OTHERS ALSO FOLLOW THE RULES.

IN HIS DOCTOR'S DISSERTATION, HE FORMULATED HIS THEME THIS WAY: "WHEN PEACE--IN THE CONNOTATION OF ABSENCE OF WAR--IS THE PRIMARY GOAL OF A STATE OR A GROUP OF STATES, THEN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM BECOMES DEPENDENT ON THE MOST UN-SCRUPULOUS MEMBER."

SUCH A POLICY COULD LEAD TO WAR, AND THE MOST FRIGHTENING EXAMPLE WAS THE MUNICH AGREEMENT IN 1938, IN WHICH THE WESTERN POWERS SACRIFICED CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO HITLER. SOME BELIEVED THAT PEACE HAD BEEN SECURED "FOR OUR LIFETIME" THROUGH THIS DEAL. IT WAS NOT UNDERSTOOD AT THE TIME

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THAT HITLER ACTED IN COMPLETE DISREGARD FOR THE RULES OF CONDUCT BETWEEN STATES.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7469

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ATTN: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SPRINSTEEN

FOR A MAN WITH KISSINGER'S BACKGROUND, HIS EXPERIENCE IN THE 1930'S NECESSARILY CAME TO MARK HIS THINKING. WHEN POLITICAL EXTREMISTS ACQUIRED POWER IN A STATE, THEY REPRESENTED A THREAT, HE MAINTAINED, BECAUSE OF THEIR UNWILLINGNESS TO ABIDE BY ACCEPTED RULES OF CONDUCT BETWEEN STATES. HE THEREFORE VIEWED THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS WITH DEEP CONCERN, AND THIS CAME TO INFLUENCE HIS THINKING ON THE WEST'S SITUATION AND SECURITY IN THE 1950'S.

BUT AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS AMONG THE FIRST TO BECOME AWARE OF THE DANGERS TO MAN IMPLICIT IN THE NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS. HE WAS CONCERNED WITH HOW THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE COULD DEFEND THEMSELVES WITHOUT RESORTING TO THE MOST ABSURD MEANS--STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS.

HE PINNED HIS FAITH ON THE IDEA THAT IN AN AGE OF NUCLEAR ARMS ALL MAJOR POWERS WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR FOREMOST TASK WAS TO PREVENT A NUCLEAR WAR. THE REALIZATION OF THIS MUST BE PARAMOUNT TO THEM REGARDLESS OF WHICH POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND IDEOLOGIES THEY REPRESENTED.

BUT THIS REALIZATION MUST ALSO LEAD TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MAJOR POWERS, A NEW SYSTEM BASED ON RESPECT FOR GENERALLY ACCEPTED RULES--SUCH AS IN EUROPE BEFORE 1914. THIS WAS KISSINGER'S WORKING HYPOTHESIS.

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THESIS, THE FOUNDATION OF HIS GREAT EXPERIMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY.

IN SUCH A WORLD, THE UNITED STATES IN HIS OPINION SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO PLAY THE ROLE OF "WORLD POLICEMAN." IT MUST INVITE THE OTHER POWERS, PRIMARILY THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, TO ACT AS EQUAL PARTNERS, WITH THE SAME RIGHTS IN WORLD POLITICS AND WITH THE SAME RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD PEACE.

KISSINGER IS NO TECHNOCRAT. HE DID NOT SET OUT ON HIS JOURNEYS TO MOSCOW AND PEKING IN 1969 WITH READY-MADE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS, CONCOCTED BEHIND HIS DESK IN WASHINGTON. HE BROUGHT HIS WORKING HYPOTHESIS, HIS MESSAGE, HIS QUESTIONS TO THEM.

THIS GREAT EXPERIEMENT POINTS A WAY OUT OF THE WORLD SITUATION CREATED BY THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE "COLD WAR."

THE POLICY WHICH KISSINGER HAS SOUGHT TO IMPLEMENT SINCE 1969 IS IN COMPLETE ACCORDANCW WITH IDEAS HE ARRIVED AT LONG BEFORE 1969. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT ABOUT HIS CONTRI-BUTION TO THE POLICY OF DETENTE.

IN A RECENT INTERVIEW, HE STATED THAT IT HAS BECOME ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO SEEK A RELAXATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN THE MAJOR POWERS, PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY HAVE CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND DIFFERENT SYSTEMS AND IDEOLOGIES. THEREFORE IT IS SO IMPORTANT TO LIMIT THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR WAR. THE RELAXATION OF TENSIONS PROVIDES THE GOVERNMENTS WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO NEGOTIATE, TO ACT WITH SPEED WHEN NECESSARY--BUT ALSO TO SHOW RESTRAINT. MOST RECENTLY THIS WAS UNDERSCORED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.

THIS YEAR'S NOBEL PRIZE WINNER HAS BEEN CALLED A REALIST. HE CAUTIONS AGAINST THE STRONG IDEOLOGICAL AND EMOTIONAL ELEMENTS IN FOREIGN POLICY THINKING, ALSO IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. THIS REALISM IS DEEPLY ROOTED IN A WELL THOUGHT-OUT BELIEF, AN ETHICAL POSTURE WHICH HAS REMAINED UNSHAKEABLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THROUGH CHANGING TIMES AND CIRCUMSTANCES. HE HAS BEEN CONCERNED WITH THE OBLIGATIONS OF STATEMEN IN A DANGEROUS, MANIFOLD AND IMPERFECT WORLD. NOW HE HIMSELF BEARS SUCH A RESPONSIBILITY.

IN THE COMING YEARS, WE SHALL LEARN HOW FAR THIS EXPERIMENT WILL LEAD US TOWARD A MORE SECURE WORLD. BUT THAT DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT DEPEND ON HENRY KISSINGER ALONE, OR ON THE UNITED STATES ALONE.

ONE OF THE CRUCIBLES IS THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ANOTHER CRUCIBLE IS THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM. HERE THE FINAL OUTCOME DEPENDSON ALL THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, BOTH THE STATES IN THE AREA OF CONFLICT AND THE MAJOR POWERS WHICH ARE INVOLVED.

ALSO IN OUR PART OF THE WORLD, IN EUROPE, NEGOTIATIONS ARE

BEING CONDUCTED TODAY WITH A VIEW TOWARD ACHIEVING DETENTE,
SECURITY AND COOPERATION WITHIN THE GLOBAL FRAMEWORK OF
THE GREAT EXPERIMENT.

IT IS THE FEW AND GREAT STATEMEN WHO TODAY CONDUCT THE
NEGOTIATIONS AND DECIDE THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE IN THE
WORLD.

BUT THE MILLIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS WHOSE DESTINIES ARE AT
STAKE CANNOT LET THE POLITICIANS BEAR THE BURDENS AND THE
RESPONSIBILITIES ALONE.

THROUGH AN ACTIVE AND POSITIVE WORLD OPINION WE MUST MAKE
OUT CONTRIBUTION TOWARD FULFILLING THE HOPES FOR PEACE.
A SINGLE VOICE, THE VOICE OF PEACE, MUST COME FROM NATIONS,
REGARDLESS OF NATIONAL BORDERS, AND NOT THE LEAST FROM
ORGANIZATIONS WORKING FOR PEACE, A VOICE SO STRONG THAT
THE POLITICIANS MUST LISTEN.

THERE ARE THOSE TODAY WHO CYNICALLY SHRUG THEIR SHOULDERS
AT NEGOTIATED TREATIES. THIS IS AN IMMORAL AND DANGEROUS
ATTITUDE. AGREEMENTS ON CEASEFIRES BETWEEN STATES MUST
NOT BE QUESTIONED, MUST NOT BE VIEWED AS MERE SCRAPS OF
PAPER--BUT AS MORAL AND UNALTERABLE COMMITMENTS BETWEEN
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THE SIGNATORY STATES.

ONLY SUCH AN HONEST ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INTENTIONS OF AND
OBLIGATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CAN LEAD US FURTHER
ON THE ROAD TO PEACE.

THE PEACE WE MUST HAVE IN SIGHT MUST NOT BE LIMITED MERELY
TO AN ABSENCE OF MILITARY CONFLICT.

REAL PEACE IN THE WORLD MUST MEAN THAT IN EVERY COUNTRY, WE
GIVE HUMAN BEINGS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, RELIGION, IDEOLOGY
OR NATIONALITY, AND OPPORTUNITY TO A LIFE IN PEACE WITH
FREEDOM FROM FEAR, FREEDOM FROM VIOLENCE, FREEDOM FROM
TERRORISM--A LIFE WHERE THE BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE THE
SECURE AND INALIENABLE PROPERTY OF EACH AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL.

DECLASSIFIED 1300 GMT DECEMBER 10, 1973

BYRNE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING CHAIRMAN, NOBEL PRIZES, HONOR AWARDS, CEREMONIAL MESSAGES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 DEC 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: kelleyw0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973OSLO04437
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
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Film Number: n/a
From: OSLO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731249/aaaabjzg.tel
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Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kelleyw0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02-Aug-2001 by willialc>; APPROVED <03-Oct-2001 by kelleyw0>
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30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PFOR NO SUBJECT: NOBEL COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN'S REMARKS FOR DECEMBER 10
TAGS: PFOR, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (LIONAES, AASE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005